684 husband—or rather, usually, from her mother-in-law. When brought back she endures one hundred lashes on the back, and is led to her husband's house with the same "ceremonial" as related above, after having asked for a guarantor and made her thumb-print on a statement. ●583 Once in a while, also, a future son-in-law who is working for his future father-in-law, in order to marry the daughter, disappears with the daughter. After one or two years they return, and ordinarily the parents are delighted to see them again, and no more complaints are made.

525 681 593 In cases of gambling, a fine is imposed on the offenders for the upkeep of the temple or to defray the expenses of the religious celebrations performed by the shaman at the village in spring and autumn. All kinds of interesting and dramatic cases occur. Wives complain about their husbands; widows who do not intend to remarry complain about members of the family prodding and teasing them to remarry; widows willing to remarry are hindered from remarrying; or the price for a bride is not paid at the fixed time; or a betrothal is broken off, etc.

627 Two particular cases may be described in detail, because of the light they cast on the type of cases handled by chiefs and elders, and on Monguor society in general.

In the first case, in the valley of Hungnai, in 1918, Chang Chia-pa, a Chinese whose family had been enrolled in a Monguor clan for many generations, had a daughter married "with the girdle" [5] who was the mother of a lovely boy. He also had a son, a daughter-in-law, and grandchildren. The girl of the girdle, who was always having trouble with her sister-in-law, finally could not stand any more, married a man named Hou Yu-liang as his concubine, and took her son with her. Hou paid her father four hundred strings of cash for her.

After five or six years, during the festivities held at the second moon in Weiyuanp'u, a Chinese peddler from Ho-nan province, named Li, made trouble with Hou Yu-liang for having, as he complained, married the

585 [5] When a girl who is unwilling to marry has relations with a guest, custom requires that the guest present his girdle (sash) to the girl. In the event that she subsequently becomes pregnant, she performs the rites of marriage with the sash, and she is thenceforth known as "Mrs. So-and-So" (guest's name), and the son as "boy so-and-so," even if the guest never comes back during her whole life.

The importance of the girdle is worth noting. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, according to Fr. Mostaert, when on the day set for the marriage the groom falls ill and is unable to attend the ceremony, his girdle is sent to the bride and she performs the rite of marriage with it. I never met such a case among the Monguors, and it appears that the girdle is used among the Ordos Mongols in circumstances quite different from those in which it is used among the Monguors. We note also that kidnapped widows prove before the court of the village their unwillingness to marry so-and-so by showing the girdle which was exchanged with so-and-so. Father Mostaert told me that when shamans in the Ordos perform their rites, removal of the girdle is one of the most important acts. This custom is unknown among the Monguor shamans.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

627 mother of his son. The peddler was accompanied by the brother of the girl's father who had a grudge against him. The girl of the girdle did not even recognize the peddler, but since her son had always been called Li, and since she herself had for five or six years always been called Mrs. Li, the peddler, with the girl's uncle as "witness," threatened to accuse her and her husband in a Chinese court. Hou, afraid of the terrible expenses consequent on involvement in a Chinese court action—which in any case might not save him his beloved concubine—preferred to settle the trouble by compromise. He invited the chief of the village and the elders, his maternal uncle and some of his friends, and after a long "interesting" meeting, crowded with the most ticklish details, it was decided that Hou should pay 160 strings of cash to the presumed father and apologize, bringing the traditional offering of a sheep with paper pasted on its horns and a piece of red cloth on its back—all to the accompaniment of firecrackers.

583 627 The second case concerned the kidnapping of a widow. In theory it is up to a widow to make her own decision about a second marriage, but at the same time the custom exists of kidnapping the widow when she is conducted at night to the home of her second husband. In Sopokou [6] lived the widow of Hla Reng. A man named Chang, of Ch'ichialin, who intended to marry her, heard that she had already consented to marry a man named Li, and that they had exchanged girdles as tokens of their mutual consent.

Chang, unwilling to give up the widow, called together thirty or more youngsters with clubs, in order to kidnap her on her way to her second husband. But having been misled about the day of her departure, and finding no widow along the road, Chang and his gang decided that she must be still at her old home, and resolved to kidnap her there. Among the kidnappers was her own nephew, who being familiar with the house of his aunt was charged with keeping the watchdog quiet. The group entered, smashing the door, and at the same time the candle inside the room was blown out. The woman was hurriedly seized and gagged, and a piece of red cloth wrapped around her head. Four men carried her out and lifted her onto a mule. A man jumped up behind her on the mule, holding her around the body, and the armed group in deep silence, at full speed, riding by side roads, in the dead of night, reached the home of Chang.

Then, consternation! The nephew recognized that the kidnapped woman was not his aunt, but the wife of a neighbor who had been staying for a few days with the widow. In the scurry and confusion, the widow had hidden herself in the corner of the room under some sacks. The whole group apologized and offered to take

[6] A name probably meaning "Needle Valley," from Monguor *subuge*, "needle" (de Smedt and Mostaert, *Dictionnaire*); but possibly from Mongol *subaq*, "a canal."—O. L.

583 627 the woman back to her husband that very same night. But the clever woman refused, and nobody dared to touch her again. At dawn the funny story spread like a prairie fire all over the country. The most stoic elders who had not laughed for years burst into peals of merriment. The chief of the village and the elders restrained the furious husband from bringing an action at the Chinese court. On the threshing floor the problem was tackled with the whole village in attendance. The decision was that the wife should be brought back home, preceded by a group of musicians and a sheep with paper pasted on its horns, a piece of red cloth on its back and firecrackers going off all along the road, and that a dinner should be prepared for the husband, the chief of the village and the elders.

An elder of the village, a celebrated patcher-up of troubles, told me that cases of kidnapping are usually not so dramatic. Most of the time, if a widow is being compelled to marry a man she does not like, and if she already has a man friend, she notifies him about the time and the circumstances of her departure, and he kidnaps her on the way, often after a severe fight. Later, on the threshing floor, after she has testified that she will marry her friend and that they have already exchanged girdles, the friend is required to reimburse the disappointed suitor for all his expenses and whatever part of the bride price he has already paid for the widow. (The marriage price for a widow is paid in two installments, one before she leaves home and one after she has reached the home of her new husband.) But when a widow is kidnapped against her own will, and refuses to marry the kidnapper, the decision made on the threshing floor by the chief of the village and the elders goes in her favor.

627 All cases are exposed and discussed in the open air, with all the villagers in attendance including youngsters and children, who thus get their social and family education through naked facts. The veil of privacy is ripped from all the miseries and realities of life before the eyes of the young, who are more sophisticated in such social knowledge than people in the Western world. A record of each case is filed in the "archives" of the chief of the village, and four strings of cash are set aside, to be offered to the T'u-ssu at the time of his triennial visit.

623 In most villages the influence wielded by the elders is remarkable. There are very few quarrels they are unable to patch up. Their skill seems to be based on long experience and a flair for grasping the core of problems rooted in the passions of human nature. They are supported by the reverence and esteem cultivated in the family circle for old age, which ensures attendance at their meetings and respect for their opinions. This kind of authority is even more important than the support they receive from the T'u-ssu. At the same time the fact that their meetings are public, and that the villagers can freely state their opinions and defend their rights puts pressure on the elders to act according to justice and in conformity with accepted opinion. Plaintiffs and de-

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

581 a well-to-do family needing more work done in the household arranges for a son who is still a child to 565 marry a grown-up girl. It is not surprising that such marriages are frequently followed by the elopement of the poor bride with a lover of her own choosing. The 583 case corresponding to that of the bride brought into the family for the sake of her working power is that of the 587 poor young man who goes to work in a family not his own, perhaps for years, in order to earn a bride from that family. To work for a bride in this manner is to lose a certain amount of status socially, since it requires that the young man live in a household where all the male members of the family have status and rights, and he alone is an outsider. A widow usually becomes the second wife of one of her husband's brothers if the family is still living united, but not if the brothers have already divided their inheritance and are living separately. More and more, in the decline of the old Monguor society, it has become usual for the widow to make her own choice of a second husband. If, instead of going to one of her husband's brothers, she marries a man of her own choice, it is customary for her new husband to bring her home secretly and at night, for fear that she may be kidnapped on the road by some other aspiring lover—a practice that seems to indicate that an unprotected widow is, or was in the past, "fair game."

583 Two exceptional kinds of marriage I have dealt with in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen.* 588 These are the "marriage to the pole," when a girl remains in the family in which she was born, but takes lovers and bears children, who instead of having the clan name of their father or fathers inherit the clan name of their mother's brothers and are treated as if they belonged to the patrilineal clan; and the "marriage to the girdle" when a girl, unmarried and living in her own family, has relations with a guest, who leaves her his girdle to which she may be "married" if she becomes pregnant.[3] Both of these customs appear to have been borrowed by the Monguors from the Tibetans.

The price paid for the bride is the subject of considerable negotiations between the families concerned, conducted by a go-between. It is usual for a girl to be a couple of years older than her husband, and the usual age for marriage is when the boy is fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen. Divorce and repudiation by the husband are rather rare.[4]

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

562 The status of the wife is inferior to that of the hus-581 band, as is inevitable in a society in which social rights and family property are regarded as belonging primarily

[3] See above, p. 78, n. 5.

[4] Here only a few data are given about marriage customs, since I have already published an extensive monograph on this subject; see *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors) du Kansou.*

604 681 in the family of their husbands, it was customary for their mothers to tell their daughters secretly that they might secure a small private herd of animals by enlisting the aid of their elder brothers, who were to approach the father on auspicious occasions and ask for a gift of new born lambs or calves for their sisters. Every year at New Year's time the father was usually in a happy mood, and on the days that lambs or calves were born, the girls would worry their elder brothers and rarely failed to see their wishes fulfilled. Once the animals were obtained they were entrusted to the elder brother's care, marked on the ear with a special mark, and the brother would [583] keep them for the sister in the family herd. On the day of her wedding, a daughter would thus possess a small herd of her own.

Again on the day of her marriage and even after marriage, a daughter would approach her elder brother in an attempt to obtain some more cows. After marriage, a girl never mixed her small herd with the herds of her husband but continued to keep it in the herd of her oldest brother. Whenever she returned home to visit her mother, she examined her little treasure, collected the lamb skins and wool, and used them or sold them for herself and her children.

583 604 Furthermore, on the day of her marriage, the daughter of a well-to-do family was usually given some land, called "cosmetic" or "paint" fields—i.e. fields whose revenue was to be used for her own personal use. The revenue from such lands became her own private income and savings. When she died, the revenue could be collected by her children. She was the real owner of the land and possessed the right to transfer it, but before transferring it, she had to inform the family of her intentions and to offer the family the first opportunity to reclaim it. When a woman acquired such lands it was again her oldest brother who took care of the land and planted, weeded, and harvested it for his sister.

I also met six young women who owned thirty or more poplar trees, planted for them by their brothers, on the edge of the fields of their parents, when they were girls of about eight or ten years of age. After fifteen years the trees had become a valuable item of capital.

604 The bond which developed between a brother and sister and which continued after the sister's marriage was extended to the sister's children. Children saw their mother's great affection for her own elder brother and *vice versa*. They knew that their mother had a small private treasure entrusted to him, from which they hoped to benefit eventually. The mother made the children feel toward her brother the way she herself felt. Hence love and esteem grew on both sides and as his sister's children grew up and married, their maternal uncle became their benefactor in the normal exigencies of life, as well as their avenger and disciplinarian in abnormal crises like those noted above.

This relationship between a brother and his sister and sister's children formed the basis for the beneficent and

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

428 If one of the sons has died without having sons of his own and without having adopted a son, his share is
596 divided among his brothers.

If, in order to acquire a wife, a man has contracted to work all his life in his wife's family he loses all right of
• 583 inheritance in his family of origin, although he retains his original surname or clan name. Such a man may
428 try to claim a share in the inheritance of his wife's family, but the claim is usually contested and settled by some sort of compromise—indicating that this kind of marriage is in itself a makeshift, not fully provided for by the rules and customs of the society. As I have pointed out in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen* (p. 118–119) the right of such a man to inherit from his family of origin is academic, since he would not have left his family for the sake of this kind of marriage unless his family had been so poor that it could offer him no inheritance worth having.

The customs of inheritance show the difference between "marriage with the pole" and "marriage with the girdle." The girl who "marries with the pole" does not leave the clan or lose her clan name; consequently, her children, by unknown or unacknowledged fathers, bear the clan name and remain in the clan, which entitles them to a share in the inheritance as if their mother had in fact been their father. In the case of the girl who "marries with the girdle" on the other hand the father is known and acknowledged, as explained above. The girl takes the clan name of this man, even though he may never return, and consequently her child or children do not bear her clan name and are not entitled to share in the inheritance.

428 It is fully in accordance with the patrilineal principle that husband and wife do not inherit from each other or from each other's families. An exception to this rule is that the widow of the head of an extended family always receives some land and livestock from her husband. The exception is only partial and temporary however, as the widow lives with one of her sons, generally the youngest, who inherits this property after her death.[59]

Because of the strong influence of Tibetan society on that of the Monguors, a word should be said about the Tibetan rules of inheritance. In my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen* (p. 49), I mentioned that in the speech made by the master of ceremonies at a Mon-

[59] This arrangement corresponds to the ancient custom in pastoral nomadic society under which (*a*) the sons as they grew up were provided with wives and given a share of the cattle, whereupon they could move away and set up independent camps, leaving the youngest son as guardian of the parents in their old age and sole heir to the residual family property at their death; and (*b*) if a man had secondary wives, these were, at his death, inherited by his sons with the exception that the first wife could not be inherited by any of the sons and no secondary wife could be inherited by her own son, thus making it necessary to provide for the senior wife until her death. These principles are obviously rooted in the fact that when livestock, instead of land, are the most important property, dispersal may be convenient in order to avoid crowding the pastures.—O. L.

439 presents for this sworn brother, who then notifies his
484 tribe not to molest the caravan. The traditional presents
608 consist of bolts of satin and silk, or a load of cotton
651 textiles or sugar or Chinese vermicelli. The next day, when the caravan chief and his local sworn brother meet, the caravan chief asks politely whether he can help his brother by carrying some things for him on the way back. The local sworn brother just as politely names some purchases that he would like made for him in Hsining or Lhasa, for which he offers to pay. The two understand each other's meaning perfectly, and the following year the caravan leader will bring as presents the goods that have been indicated. Thus in fact the caravan takes its way through each territory by a form of taxation in the guise of presents.[8]

431 On the way back from Tibet the Monguors bring with
484 them *p'ulu*, a kind of woolen serge woven in Tibet in narrow bands, either dyed red or purple, or white with crosses of red or blue dyed in the fabric by the "tie and dye" method. This material, which sheds water, is greatly valued by both Tibetans and Monguors. The Monguors also bring back from Tibet incense, dates, and saffron, which they sell to Chinese, the saffron being used more for medicine than as a condiment. At the market in the frontier town of Dankar I once bought some dishes that had just been brought in from Lhasa with the Kuopa caravan. These dishes bore the trademark of "Regout, Maestricht, Holland" and had traveled from Europe to Calcutta, from Calcutta to Lhasa, and from Lhasa, loaded on yaks, to the frontier of China.

439 The young Monguors who have once worked with
484 the caravan seem to catch the fever of travel and want
583 to go back to Tibet again and again. The older people, with the wisdom of experience, explain the mystery. The reason is, they say, the ease—and variety—of getting temporarily married in Tibet. The traveler who wants to strike up a temporary relationship with a woman in Tibet shaves his head just before his caravan arrives at its destination. This makes him look like a lama, and a Tibetan girl will readily "marry" him, assuming that he has no permanent obligations to a wife at home. If he were to wear a "pig-tail," the girl might be a little more hesitant, fearing that the "marriage" would last only until he wanted to go home. When he does want to leave such a temporary wife, however, the rascally traveler simply grows his "pig-tail" again on the next stage of his journey. In this way, the enterprising caravan man can sample the joys of marriage in a number of places.

DWELLINGS

342 The construction and disposition of the houses of the Monguors having been described in Chapter IV, it

[8] R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, as cited, 54, describes this form of the "sworn brother" relationship as a "guest-host" relationship, and gives valuable details on both Tibetan and Muslim caravan trade.—O. L. [P 116a]

/9 cont'd/

181 595 compared to the happiness of having descendants. This way of thinking has distant origins; the T'ou-jen inherited it from their ancestors, and they have kept it scrupulously for centuries. Let us not be surprised therefore that because of it certain customs which seem inadmissible and shocking to us appear reasonable and justifiable to the T'ou-jen.

We shall set forth in what follows the matrimonial customs of a people which is convinced of the duty of marrying, and which expects male descendants from marriage.

/10/ Division of the Study

583 Marriage is the legal union of a man and woman. But with the T'ou-jen the daughter being the property of the parents, in the true sense of the term, an indemnity is imposed on the one who wishes to marry her.

This indemnity is paid in two ways; either by purchase or by the furnishing of his person or his services for the benefit of the owner of the girl.

587 The marriage of widows, which still often takes place nowadays in the ancient form of abduction, nevertheless falls in the category of marriage by purchase; for after having taken the widow to a safe place, a discussion is held about her price. Therefore, we shall deal successively with:

I. Marriage by purchase
II. Marriage by furnishing one's services or person
III. Abnormal marriages
IV. Divorce, repudiation, and exchange of wives
V. Runaway wives
VI. The matriarchate

/11/

Chapter I

Marriage by Purchase

583 The purchase of the wife by the husband's family is the common form of marriage among the T'ou-jen today. This form of marriage occurs in three different cases, each of which has its customs and special rights:

A. Marriage with a young girl as the official wife
B. Marriage with a widow as the official wife
C. Marriage with a young girl or widow as the second wife, or polygamy

A. Marriage with a Young Girl as the Official Wife

Summary. -- 1. Parties to the marriage. 2. Social position of the future partners with respect to marriage. 3. When the marriage proposal is made. 4. How it is made. 5. Discussion of the bride price. 6. Delivery of the presents. 7. Age required for marriage. 8. Setting of the wedding date and last arrangements. 9. Presentation of last gifts and invitation to the wedding. 10. Wedding without ceremonies. 11. Farewell dinner at the daughter-in-law's home. 12. Getting of the bride. 13. The bride's arrival in her new family. 14. Gifts to the bridegroom's family. 15. The wedding. 16. Opening of the daughter-in-law's mouth. 17. Dinner. 18. Gifts to the family of the daughter-in-law. 19. Departure of the guests. 20. Visits after the wedding. 21. Relations of the newly married couple with the daughter-in-law's family.

1. Parties to the Marriage

584 It is natural that those who have the means choose a young girl for a wife; moreover, this is almost a necessity, because they marry young. Ordinary unions are therefore contracted between young people.

582 /12/ The first question which arises is this: With whom may marriage be contracted?

/23 cont'd/

584 787 the family of the fiancée will not neglect also to have the case examined by competent people. If there is a discrepancy between the two predictions, a third examination will be held.

If the alliance is sincerely desired on both sides, the solution will be quickly satisfactory; for the diviner knows the people he is dealing with.

In the opposite case, the examiner, a diplomat when necessary, will give an ill-omened solution, and the marriage will be shelved. This is a good way for one side to politely refuse a marriage proposal, and for the other to understand the refusal, without loss of face.

They say that nobody would dare do without this preliminary rite. This is easy to believe for anyone who is aware of the /24/ mania of this people for consulting fate for all events of any importance, all the more when it is a question, under the circumstances, of an act with such grave and far-reaching consequences...and in spite of everything, they often disregard this when the proposed match has won their approval.

584 793 [771] But by whom is this horoscope read?

The yellow lamas and the shamans, in Monguor bo, are never consulted, although lamaism and shamanism are the T'ou-jen's own religions. On this occasion they have recourse to the Chinese Ing-lang sien-cheng /lit., practitioner of Yin and Yang/ (diviner) or to the lamas of the red sect. The reason for this choice has always remained a mystery to me; no T'ou-jen was able to explain it.

584 This formality carried out, the father or mother of the future bridegroom, on the occasion of a visit to the parents of the future bride, proposes the marriage. The answer having been favorable, 583 "the mother alone" goes to the home of the family of the future 584 daughter-in-law to offer the parents eight, ten, or 12 steamed rolls (it must always be an even number), four feet of red cloth, a pair of shoes for the little daughter-in-law, and several lengths of red cord, which are customarily plaited into a girl's braids.

They take tea, they chat, the little chosen one presents herself, they talk of marriage, and the future mother-in-law takes her leave. The gifts have been accepted, the girl has presented

/24 cont'd/
583 584 herself, the marriage is therefore set. No longer is it kept from anyone; on the contrary, they are careful to make the news known. But if, for example, before this formal visit of the future mother-in-law, the fiancée's family has changed its mind, the gifts would be left intact on the table, they would talk amiably about the weather, the girl would not appear, no allusion to the projected marriage would be made, the gifts would be politely returned at the time of departure, and the alliance would be given up. Only after these formalities have been completed, will the family of the future bridegroom secure a go-between.

171 584 /25/ This second formal visit by the mother then is definitely binding. This custom is abnormal in a patriarchal economy. (1)

1. The bride's father, according to the customs refuses the proposals, but they do not take as serious this answer, and some time later they send to the bride's father the match-makers who propose for his daughter some price (kalin). If the two families are already connected by the matrimonial relations, the "kalin" is only a formality....

Usually the bride's father consults his wife; if he decides the question without consulting her, she can protest, but her protest is not taken in consideration. Then her husband's youngest brother intervenes, and advises the bride's mother to accept her husband's decision. After this formality is completed, she must agree to the inevitable thing. But if they address the demand to the bride's mother, her words have the same value as that of the bride's father and never can be changed. If they address the

171 /25 cont'd/
584 demand to the bride's father's youngest brother (it is supposed the father is dead), he does not answer without consulting the bride's mother and usually he acts according to her wish. Shirokogoroff, pp. 72, 73. /Cited in English./

584 5. Discussion of the Bride Price and Deciding on the Wedding Gifts

Contrary to Chinese practice which requires two go-betweens, a T'ou-jen ordinarily engages only one, a friend of the family.

One is in no hurry to get a go-between. When the girl is only four or five years old, one waits two or three years more, indeed even longer, before giving this invitation. The promise of marriage having been made to the mother-in-law, there is no longer anything to fear; only at each New Year and at the festival of the fifteenth [431] day of the eighth moon, they call on each other, exchange small gifts, and call each other Guda, "relatives by alliance," all this in order to refresh the memory.

In exceptional cases, where the girl has reached marriageable age at the time of the marriage proposal, they do not delay in making use of the services of a go-between.

584 After choosing an auspicious day for this important matter, the go-between leaves with the traditional gifts: a small jug of gin [777 corked with a red (a color /26/ which brings good luck) lozenge and 431] a strand of sheep's wool tied around the neck. Upon his arrival he puts his gift on the small table on the k'ang and pompously greets the fiancée's family with bows. They understand one another without saying a word; they drink tea, they smoke a pipe, and the go-between broaches his subject after pouring the gin for everyone present. "Now," he says, "since you have decided between yourselves on the marriage of your children, kindly set the day to decide on the gifts and discuss the traditional formalities. (1)

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584
171 1. Shirokogoroff, p. 73: The negotiations are always followed by

Mo 583 584 171

/26 cont'd/

a dinner with moderate libations, which made the bride's father more yielding on the question of the dimensions of the "kalin" (earnest). The final conditions are elaborated usually in the state of profound drunkenness. The "kalin" must be definitely fixed during these negotiations. It consists usually of pigs, from two to eight, always in pairs, which must be given after the match-making, some years later and just before the wedding. The pigs can also be commuted by money. Moreover they give yearly $10 (or Russian roubles) for the bride's clothing and also yearly, namely in the last month of the year, they give $1 - 5 for artificial flowers and paints.... In general all calculations concerning the "kalin" payments are made in pigs. The Manchus never calculate it in horse or cattle units.

Mo 583 171

The Mongols use as unit the horse, the reindeer. Tungus, the reindeer. It is interesting to note that the Dahurs who live in very close neighborhood with the Manchus, Mongols and Tungus, for this purpose use as unit clothing. -- (as do the T'ou-jen and the Miao of Yunnan, Kweichow.) /Cited in English, with two interpolations in French, indicated by underline./

HM 584

Timkovski, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 307: Among the Mongols the marriage proposal is made through outsiders. The consent having been given, the father

/28 cont'd/

583 For families of average circumstances (I am speaking of the years 1915 - 20) they decide that they will pay for the daughter-in-law:

Twenty-four strings of cash (a string of cash at that time was worth about one dollar, and the dollar about three francs).

In addition there will be given 24 pieces of cloth for making clothes, of which 12 of the best quality are to be used for the outside of the garment and 12 of lesser quality for the lining; there will be green, black, red, and violet pieces of cloth (eight feet of calico were equivalent to a piece of Chinese cloth).

After that a mare is still necessary, and its age and quality will be decided after a new discussion.

[565] They will recall with pride the ancient tradition of the race, which has never permitted marriages without the giving of mares. Among poor families, by force of circumstances, they do without this tradition, but custom always requires that it be recalled even so.

In general, in rich families payment will consist of:

25 dollars,
16 or 20 pieces of silk or satin,
60 strings of cash,
and finally the traditional mare.

There are exceptions to the rule; thus I have known a case where 50 strings of cash, two pieces of cloth, one mare, and two cows were given; another case in which were given 24 strings of cash, 14 pieces of cloth, and a mare; still another in which 30 strings of cash, 18 pieces of cloth, a mare, and a cow were given.

584 When an agreement has been reached, the final formalities are still to come. The speakers will make apologies: "We must admit," they will say, "that the sum and /29/ gifts on which we have agreed do not come up to your expectations. But we have had in mind, above all, the happiness of your daughter; the better off the bridegroom's family will be, the happier your daughter; and then also harmony between the two families is worth more than all the gold in the world; your daughter will be the first to profit by this arrangement; she will be treated all the better; in short, you also want her good fortune above all." Then they will praise the

/29 cont'd/

584 virtues of the bridegroom and his family and predict such a fine future for the girl that the whole family will end up by being satisfied in spite of themselves.

However, they will leave a door open in case the bridegroom's family should refuse their assent. They will explain therefore that they will still have all the trouble in the world in having their propo-
[583] sitions accepted by the bridegroom's family. When they leave they will take back on behalf of the bride's family two jugs of gin, three feet of green cloth, and three lengths of green cord for plaiting in the hair.

The bridegroom's family waits with impatience. A report must now be given of the whole discussion, and especially of its practical conclusions. Then it is the other side of the picture, and with all the eloquence of which they are capable, they try to present the propositions as being eminently advantageous; they put forth the difficulties they have had to overcome in order to get there, then also, there is the girl who will make an admirable wife....

Ordinarily they resign themselves and accept the propositions; but it also may happen that the discussions have to be undertaken again at a second session, which is not auspicious. Nevertheless, it is extremely rare that they do not succeed in coming to terms and in reaching an understanding.

587 Let us note that in the marriage of a girl, even though there is only one single go-between, no marriage contract is written nor even a list of the gifts to be offered; while in the marriage of a widow, although there are two go-betweens, a contract is necessary, duly signed by the widow's parents-in-law and the go-betweens.

/30/ 6. Delivery of the Presents Demanded for the Bride

583 a) When do they proceed to the delivery of the presents?

In the exceptional case where the girl is thirteen or fourteen years old when she is sought in marriage, then during the month following the choice of gifts, they try to offer what was agreed upon.

In other cases where the formalities were decided when the girl was still little, they usually wait until she has reached her

Mo 583 /30 cont'd/ eleventh or twelfth year. It may also happen that everything is given at one time after one year, and again that it is done in two or three installments. The custom is therefore that it takes a long time. (1)

HM 583

1. Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 308: Among the Mongols the payment of the bride price is not always made at one time; it takes place at different periods according to the wealth of the bridegroom, and these payments are sometimes extended for a period of six or seven years. The animals are delivered in the fall, each female is counted as two head.

HM [831]

Mo 584 But why these beatings about the bush which seem so petty? It is because we are dealing with practical people who consider everything, even the life and death of the girl. Indeed, if the girl were to die after the earnest has been given, the latter would not be given back; even if by chance there is another younger daughter in the family, one would not have the right to demand her to replace the dead girl. Nevertheless, if the families are well disposed and sincerely want to be allied by the marriage of their children, the negotiations are begun again, and they end up by giving the younger daughter after receiving several pieces of cloth and several dollars in compensation. Likewise, if the bridegroom dies and there is another younger unmarried son, one does not have the right to demand the bride for him; but there is always a way to reach an understanding, as in the preceding case, all the more because the difference in age between husband and wife /31/ is not taken into consideration among the T'ou-jen. It is therefore the general rule not to be in a hurry to give the earnest. However, there are laudable exceptions; it happens that more correct people are found who after two or three months fulfill this obligation.

/31 cont'd/

584 This mania for exploiting one another, which shows one small aspect of the race, is manifested at different times in the matrimonial customs; but this aspect being general, it does not offend any T'ou-jen.

●583 b) How does one proceed to the delivery of the presents?

The go-between goes to the home of the bride, this time with two jugs of gin, stoppered with the lozenge and tied with the wool. The purpose of the visit is twofold: the first is to set the day of the ceremony, the second is to try to bargain again on what had been agreed upon to spend for the girl, "for the bridegroom's family is very poor, they have recently had misfortunes, losses of livestock, unforeseen expenses; in spite of all their good intentions they have not yet been able to buy the full number of required gifts, in short, it will be necessary to be generous this time and give ever so little 'face' to the go-between...."

583 584 It is good form to yield at least something. When they yield, they proceed by pairs, for example two strings of cash, two pieces of cloth....The concessions made, the day of the ceremony is set.

584 If the daughter-in-law's family is poor and the son-in-law's wealthy, the go-between will propose to the latter that they invite the poor family to their home so that the ceremony can take place impressively. In this case, the earnest will be given at the groom's home in the presence of the go-between.

583 The delivery of the presents is generally not made without ceremony. It is the occasion of a little festival in the bride's family, in which the go-between, the groom's father, his maternal uncles, his older brothers, the advocates of a little while ago, in all seven or eight people, participate.

/32/ The go-between, taking the jug brought from the groom's home, offers to all the bride's family a tiny cup of gin; then he [301] spreads on a table the marriage gifts, to which have been added: two artificial flowers which will be stuck in the bride's hair, two bricks of rouge, a piece of black crepe which will serve as a veil, a pair of eardrops, a pair of artistically embroidered shoes.

/32 cont'd/

583 The two parties both make excuses to the other: one for its poverty and the hard times, "I could not offer more, but what is offered is given wholeheartedly"; the other for its indigence, "I was forced to ask for much too much, but now I am more than satisfied with the gifts...."

584 Then when all have taken their places again, the go-between rises and proposes to the family that they present the "flower," that is, the little bride.

They hasten to spread out a red rug or piece of red felt in the middle of the room, and the little bride, chaperoned by a young girl, appears before the assemblage. The two girls hold each other by the hand.

[303] The bride has risen early in the morning, has washed with all kinds of soap, and her hair has been dressed by the most skillful woman in the neighborhood. She has put on her handsomest finery, she has beautiful flowers in her hair, and she is made up in such a way as to be longer recognizable. Her companion, a little girl like herself, has a more modest toilette; she has no flowers in her hair, she wears a black veil on her head. They are certainly "the amazon and the little white goose"; no chance of making a mistake who is the bride.

[516 576] They advance toward the middle of the rug, facing the future father-in-law, let go their hands, bow respectfully, kneel, bow their foreheads to the ground three times, rise, and begin the same prostration over again three times. This is the ancient Chinese greeting on grand occasions. Everything is done gravely and sedately. They are well-trained T'ou-jen girls! Also their childhood games are [524] only the apprenticeship /33/ for the ceremonial. All girls play at ceremonies; they adore them. This is characteristic of the Orient.

583 584 One sees that the "flower" is aware of her own important and that of the moment; she tries to make a good impression on the assemblage, and the future father-in-law smiles, becomes young again, throws on the rug with a generous gesture two or three handfuls of red lozenges and a handful of cash, emblems of good fortune and wealth. The guests do the same. The girls pick up everything.

/33 cont'd/
583 bow gravely, and without having opened their mouths go away to
584 share the lozenges and the cash.

The go-between rises and says aloud: "The flower has just been presented, let us proceed to the recognition of the alliance of the two families and the exchange of wine."

The two fathers-in-law rise and go to kneel in the middle of the rug, after bowing to each other. The go-between puts in the hand of each a little cup of gin, which they exchange and drink.
584 The cups are filled four times in a row, and they exchange them four
788 times; those present recite aloud one of the four following couplets:
539

Si che iang koang	May the feast be brilliant
man siu hoa	May flowers abound.
tse suen hoa	May the flowers which are the sons and grandsons
leang mien tch'a	Bloom on both sides (to the glory of the two families).
leang kia hi ngai	May the two families be happy
tso ts'in kia	To be related to each other.
sin ts'in kia	May the new family by marriage
mou tan hoa	Be like a peony (emblem of good fortune).

584 /34/ Then the two fathers-in-law rise and propose that all
[262] present drink in their turn. A light meal is served consisting of boiled mutton cut in pieces, bread, and noodles in the Chinese style....

The bride's family takes care to put into the father-in-law's carpetbag two strings of cash and several loaves of bread, always an even number; the other guests receive two loaves each. The jug is given back filled with gin.

/35 cont'd/

[584] goes to her home with the traditional presents: gin, eight or ten
[583] loaves of bread, four feet of red cloth. The go-between is not present.

This visit is ordinarily made toward the fifteenth day of the eighth moon, which is one of the great festivals of the year. After putting down her gifts, the visitor pretends to kneel to greet the family ceremoniously, but this is forestalled. Tea and bread are served. Then the visitor herself takes her jug and pours gin for those present, a sign that she comes on an important mission. After this, she speaks of the wedding and asks that the day for it be set.

Appearances require that the bride's family pretend to wish to put off the wedding. "They love the girl so much, she is so good to her parents, so devoted, they will never be able to separate themselves from her." They beg that she be left with them for two or three more years. The daughter, in the kitchen, must weep aloud meanwhile...finally they end up by yielding with tears in their eyes.

Several days afterward the groom's family invites a Chinese diviner or a red lama, two members of the bride's family, her parents, and the go-between. The auspicious day is chosen with all possible respect, for on the happy wedding day will depend in great measure the good fortune of the married couple. This choice is of greatest importance.

[595 178] In the family of the Li t'ou-se no weddings will be seen in the third and the ninth month of the year. In the old days the people whom he governs did the same; nowadays the people bother less and less with this custom.

[585] /36/ The wedding day being set, discussions are begun on the subject of the last arrangements. Well-to-do families make weddings the biggest festivity of their lives. The arrangements for this festivity are made by common agreement between the two families after a laborious discussion.

The bride's family: "I have then made the sacrifice of my daughter for a certain day, but have you arranged all that is necessary for the wedding? Have you prepared for my daughter a headdress of silver strips, skirts, clothes...."

Again, much is asked in order to obtain little. The mother-in-law makes excuses: We are poor, times are bad...but she protests.

/36 cont'd/

584 the attentions with which she will surround the bride....Again, the go-between by means of eloquence must run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.

[583 431] For people of average means, at this second settlement, they ordinarily end up by promising for the bride:

a headdress of copper strips,
eardrops of silver or silvered copper,
a cloth skirt,
cloth trousers,
a pair of leggings for boots,
a hat cover of red cloth for the wedding day and another of green cloth.

Rich families manage to give a hat of silver strips or silvered copper, one or two pairs of silver eardrops, and several silk garments. If the bridegroom's family is too accommodating, it will be well exploited.

After that they come to the negotiations about the dinner. The bride's family begins by asking for their guests a dinner of 80 to 100 places. New palavers...the go-between ends up by getting them to content themselves with about 40 places on their part. Among rich families a dinner of 100 places is required.

/37/ But what dinner will you give? We must have a Chinese dinner of 12 or 16 large bowls. We do not wish to lose face, it is the least that you can give us, we have continually made concessions for everything, on this point we cannot yield. New exploits of eloquence on the part of the go-between, -- "Until now I have been able to arrange everything to the satisfaction of both families, I hope you will let me keep face until the end. I have always succeeded in marriage discussions, and I hope that this time it will work again. Let us see; plates and dishes are necessary for a Chinese dinner; no way to find them in the whole country. An excellent cook is necessary, where is he? A room for the dinner is necessary, where is it to be found? And then, we are not Chinese. Let us follow the customs of our ancestors and give a big T'ou-jen dinner. [273] I insist upon gin of superior quality and in sufficient quantity, two

584
373 /37 cont'd/
pounds per person; I demand big and fat sheep...," and everything is settled.

And to say that the two parties knew the conclusions of the discussion beforehand! Palavering is necessary, one must give oneself importance; then, speechifying and chattering are the principal and the most agreeable pastime of people who almost never work in their lives.

585 Most weddings take place after the work in the fields is over, in the months of October, November, and December. About this time the animals are fat, the barns full of grain, and there is something with which to distill, oneself, a kind of gin with spelt. However, one does see rich families who, to demonstrate abundance and well-being, celebrate the marriages of their children in the months of May, June, and July, which are called the "empty" months. (1)

584

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 76: Some time before the wedding they fix a happy day for the ceremony of wedding in accordance with Chinese manual...by Chinese sien-sheng. /Cited in English./

P. 74: Some time before the wedding, the representatives of the bridegroom's clan in a large number, and connected by friendship with the bride's clan people, call upon the bride's father or his substitute, to fix exactly the day of the wedding. But the bride's father refuses to do it. /38/ Then the bridegroom's representatives propose to him a supplementary "kalin". In the past time this consisted only of a pig, which was eaten during the wedding, but it has grown with time and at the present time it can be valued at $100 - 300 paid in pigs or money or goods. Besides, the bridegroom's clan must give some silk

583

/38 cont'd/

583 clothing and jewellery up to the sum of $100 -300. If the bridegroom's clan refuses, the wedding may be adjourned for a period of two years. They can refuse to give the bride three times, but finally they are obliged to give her without supplementary "kalin". In such case,
582 for the bride the age of 27 years is limit beyond which she cannot be kept in her clan. So that the matrimonial periods are the ages of 15, 17, 19, or 16, 18, 20... However if the matrimonial parties are on good terms the payment of the supplementary "kalin" can be omitted. Some days, 5 or 6 before the wedding, the bridegroom's clan people bring the supplementary "kalin" which they transmit solemnly to the bride's father or his substitute. /Cited in English./

/38/ 9. Delivery of the Presents and Invitation to the Wedding

583- About ten days before the wedding, the go-between and several members of the bride's family go to deliver the gifts agreed upon; in addition they bring 12 loaves of bread, a sheep, a goat, and the pieces of meat called mutsé, a term which the people did not succeed in explaining to me; only one knows by that that all the girls of the bride's neighborhood and the married girls in her family are invited.

583 After taking tea, they show the clothes, the hat, the eardrops...
584 so that they may be examined in detail. From time to time it happens that at this moment new difficulties again arise. Such and such a piece is refused.... Another must be substituted for it in haste or the wedding will be postponed until later. They demand everything up-to the last cash before allowing the bride to leave;

Mc /38 cont'd/
583 for they know that after her departure they will not be able to get
584 anything more.

10. Marriage without Ceremonies

Mc 585 When a girl has reached marriageable age and the families are too poor to permit themselves the luxury of grand festivities, they proceed in a very simple fashion which they call /39/ "marriage without ceremonies," that is, the girl is taken away without any ceremonies. That is always done the last month of the year, on the ninth, tenth, or eleventh day. The mother-in-law in the company of the go-between goes to get the girl. They take tea with her family, they are served a piece of meat and some bread; then the two of them take the girl away on foot. If the distance is great, they go on horseback. When they arrive at the home of the groom, there is no festivity. The bride, still wearing her hair as unmarried girls wear it, becomes a member of the family as an unmarried girl. (1)

Mc 585

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 65: The Manchus also adopt the following practice: they take into the family where there is a boy a small girl for whom they pay her parents a price arranged and she lives in the position of a bride until the boy reached the age of 17, 18. Then they have the marriage ceremony and the young man becomes a husband. They follow this practice when the girl's parents are poor and have many daughters and the boy's parents need a working member in the family. P. 75: When the girl reached the age of 15, 17 years, they make a very modest wedding. /Cited in English./

M /46 cont'd/
231 pigs. With their tsao tchou, i.e., "pigs which live on plants," they are the great suppliers of pigs for the capital of the province.

M We have arrived at the chief attraction of the wedding.
585 They begin by spreading out the presents the parents made to
431 their girl and to the family of the bride /sic/. This display is pre-
583 sented on the doors laid out for the purpose in front of the shamanistic fire within the tables. For people of average means the gifts are usually composed of the following pieces:

For the girl:
1) three long garments of checked calico with lining, a green garment, another of red, a third violet
2) two long plain garments, blue and black
3) two skirts
4) one long padded garment
5) three plain trousers
6) three or four waistcoats (bolero type), blue, black, violet
7) one large hat for feast days
8) several belts each 12 feet long, parti-colored or embroidered
9) four or five pairs of sleeves in varied colors
10) five or six pairs of artistically embroidered sleeves
11) some ten pairs of leggings
12) a long garment of black sheep's wool
13) a belt of black sheep's wool (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 308: (among the Mongols) when everything is agreed upon, the parents of the bride are obligated to construct for her a yurt, provided with everything necessary for a household, /47/ so that she does not need to ask for anything from others. Then she is given all that concerns her toilette and even a saddled horse on which she is to go to her husband's home.

/47 cont'd/

585 For the son-in-law: 1) Chinese cap
431
383 2) lined or plain garment of checked calico, blue in color
3) belt of red cloth 12 feet long
4) leggings or boots, never trousers.
5) a big Tibetan k'ata, which will be put around his neck (1)

1. K'ata (Tibetan, khabtags) ... is a pale-blue silk scarf, very primitively woven; it is offered among the T'ou-jen to persons whom one wishes to honor or from whom one expects a service; it is even offered to the gods. Very pretty ones are found, blue or white, of first quality, very long, with Buddhist pictures; they are offered only on important occasions and to persons of note.

For the grandfather: a piece of felt
385 For the grandmother: a long, plain garment or a skirt
431 For the son-in-law's father: a piece of felt
583 For the son-in-law's mother: a long garment or a skirt
602 For the paternal uncles of son-in-law: a pillow
[287] For the paternal aunts of the son-in-law: leggings
For the son-in-law's brothers: leggings, pillow, or k'ata
For the little sisters of the son-in-law: two feet of white cloth serving as a handkerchief
For the big sisters of the son-in-law: a piece of red cloth four feet long
For the maternal uncle of the son-in-law: the gift of honor, a big k'ata, and a string of large cash strung on red cord with a strand of white wool
For the go-between: a pair of boots and a string of cash or six strings of cash and a pillow.

In rich families the fabrics will be of the best quality; in addition they will have a hat of silver strips, two or three pairs of ear-

583 /47 cont'd/
585 drops, silver rings.... It even happens that rich people give their
431 daughter several /48/ arpents of land, which are called ngusgé
602 gadiziar (ngusge, "rouge"; gadiziar, "land"), i.e., the land which
[425] procures the girl's rouge, with the condition that the husband must sow it and give the revenue from it to his wife. Thereafter, if the son-in-law's family is ever forced to sell these lands, the first offer will have to be made to the wife's family.

423 About 30 years ago, the Ma family of Na-lin-keou had re-
583 ceived in marriage a girl, Pao, who had received from her parents some "rouge lands." The Ma family became poor and mortaged these lands to the Pan family; later it sold them to the Heou family. The Pans, basing their right on the Chinese axiom, "He who holds a mortgage has prior right of purchase," brought an action against the Mas and demanded the turning over of the lands. But then the Pao family appeared and claimed these lands as being the "rouge lands" given to their aunt at the time of her marriage. The Chinese court recognized this custom and decided in their favor.

This same custom is still found among the Mongols. Recently, the king of Ogat of the confederation of Olanteh'ah, giving his daughter in marriage to the king of Hang King of the confederation of the Orto, gave her on this occasion part of the lands of Saitnoor (30 li southwest of the Christendom of Sha-tao-k'iao, Mission of Ming-Hua).

585 As for the gifts of which I have spoken above, there are
583 numerous variants; I know a case where the girl was given only six long garments; another where she was given ten; everything depends on the financial situation of the family.

The women in particular are very much interested in the gifts; they examine the fabrics and the finish of the embroideries, especially those on the sleeves and the two ends of the belts. Months and months of work are often put on these pieces. When the examination is finished, the bride is brought in.

She is carried on a small, low Chinese table, which has been covered /49/ previously with red felt. She is put down between the sacred fire and the display of presents. This is her first and only
[302] appearance at this festivity. She is bareheaded and wears the hair style of unmarried girls.

M /50 cont'd/
585 Why is the maternal uncle invited to stand near the girl during the
614 whole speech, and why does the maternal clan have precedence at
604 the festivity and at the dinner? Why is the paternal clan in the very background all this day, when it is nevertheless the one which is giving its daughter in marriage and which has the duty to defend her? Also abnormal is this custom which fixes only the gifts to be offered to the girl by the maternal aunts and uncles and not those to be given by her paternal uncles and aunts. Finally, why attach more importance to this festivity than to the one at the son-in-law's home?

M Let us remember that this ceremony is held around a shamanistic
585 fire and not before an image of Buddha, although Buddhism is with-
795 out question the primary religion of the country, and that in spite
771 of the fact that the whole clan includes numerous lamas among its members, shamanism is actually the old religion of the T'ou-jen.

M Let us note again that the master of ceremonies, when he takes
585 the floor, recalls the faraway past in which the daughter still inherited from her parents half as much as a son. One would say it was a history lesson.

We are here in the presence of a very old ceremony, one which is completely abnormal in a patriarchal organization.

M After the speech and the girl's departure, the guests are in-
[562] vited to sit down; gin is served, and they play mora noisily; they sing and smoke while waiting for the Chinese noodles to be served.

M /51/ The master of ceremonies arranges the gifts in chests,
585 and all the pieces are numbered, so that the next day at the dinner
583 at the son-in-law's home, when he again takes the floor, he can take them out without difficulty. (1)

HM
585 1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 308: (Mongols) As soon as the livestock has been delivered to the future wife's father (the German translation of the same work says that he himself comes to the future husband's home to get them), he gives a feast which is soon reciprocated by the husband-to-be for the relatives and

/51 cont'd/

585 all until the next day, which is the day of the wedding dinner at the home of the son-in-law; we have seen that the number of guests invited to this dinner is prescribed. He will therefore have to politely send some away. To this end he comes to each person who will be sent away, without saying any more, bringing four loaves of bread and one or two pieces of raw meat. This is called pou fen tse, "to complete the dinner." They understand and leave with many polite phrases.

583 431

/52/ The ones chosen for the feast the next day try to find lodging for the night, either with neighbors or in the home of the bride; some of them celebrate very late into the night and pass the time singing and drinking. This part of the festivity is often less attractive for us, since the gin spoils its freshness. It has the disadvantage of sending to the wedding dinner the next day at the son-in-law's home many guests with heavy heads and in bad humor because of fatigue from a riding trip and a night without refreshing sleep.

585 574

533 585 The T'ou-jen like to sing at weddings. Their own repertory in the language of the country is not very wide, so they ordinarily sing Tibetan songs. One of the very rare songs in the Monguor language is the one about the origin of the mythical bird Chong-nirwa. (1) It is very often sung at weddings.

[177]

104 773

1. Chong is probably the Buddhist Garuda called K'yun in Tibetan. Grunwedel says in Mythologie des Buddhismus in Thibet u. der Mongolei /Mythology of Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia/, p. 25: semidivine being, deadly enemy of the Naga, a mounted bird, the king of the feathered /tribe/ and his kinsmen.... P. 191, ... is always represented in Lamaism with a thick body, human arms, on which the wings are located, and the horned head of a bird. He is part of the company of the formidable gods and plays

Ma 585 /56 cont'd/

Then the bridegroom's party without saying the purpose of their visit insists in being let in. After long negotiations they let them enter in, for a price of 5 - 7 - 9 pieces of red paper, symbolizing money, some black beans and charcoal, all made of paper. If the weather is not cold the negotiations are very long. /Cited in English./

Mo 583 585 /56/ When they have arrived at the home of the bride, they find the door shut and barricaded. They knock at the door for a long time, calling the people. The women answer from inside, but they refuse to open the door. Then the companions beg them by singing. This song is improvised on a desired /youlu/ melody. They sing, for example, that they have come by mountains and valleys..., which they are careful to describe...; the family is renowned for its hospitality; why don't they open up this time? They are so tired, they come from so far, they are good people..., but they do not speak of the purpose of their trip. The women answer by singing, "We will open the door to you if you can answer our questions." Again improvisations. An example: Did the sun precede the moon, or the moon the sun? Did the bow exist before the arrow, or the arrow before the bow? Did the jug exist before the cup, or the cup before the jug? Answer: The moon was before the sun..., etc. Why so? The sun came second for heating; the bow followed the arrow for the happiness of military men, the pitcher for the good of hosts.

Mo 585 It is obviously very pointless; it is endless; let us note that one is quickly in trivialities and broad jokes.

The women end up by drawing the bolts noisily, but they continue to push against the door. The men /57/ outside push with vigor, while somebody throws an avalanche of water on their heads from above. The son-in-law keeps his distance. Finally the door is opened. (1)

Mo 587 606 /89 cont'd/ mother-in-law two bricks of tea, which is what they call k'ai k'eou ts'ien, i.e., "the cash which open her mouth"; next they promise the father-in-law 12 strings of cash, called tchou hoen ts'ien, i.e., "the cash which make him take upon himself the responsibility for the marriage." (1) Then they discuss the price of the widow, a

Ma [587] 1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 75: The Manchus do not pay "kalin" if the woman demanded is a widow. /Cited in English./

price which ordinarily varies between 150 and 200 strings of cash. Again, since it will be necessary to write a contract, and since all the grandfathers, uncles, and brothers will have to affix their signatures to it, /90/ they discuss the price and the number of signers at the rate of three strings of cash per signature. Three or four relatives of the family take part in this discussion, which always takes place at night.

Mo [583] This sum is called ming ts'ien /"money in the open"/, i.e., the official or public price of the widow. Very often it happens that one or another member of the family secretly lets it be known that he opposes this marriage and that he will cause difficulties.

Ordinarily these recalcitrants take advantage of their relationship to make some easy money. They take them privately and discusses with them in secret the sum of money which their consent is worth. This is the ngan ts'ien, i.e., "the secret money," which very often is far from being insignificant. It is what makes people say that the expenditures made for widows, particularly for those who are going to be second wives, are based on the wealth of the suitor.

Mo 587 585 These negotiations with the surly relatives having produced results and the price being agreed upon, the suitor must make his decision. When consent is given, he does not pay the money; he will pay only on the day when the widow has crossed the threshold of his house. We have seen exactly the opposite for the marriage of

/91 cont'd/
387 widow-daughter only when the go-betweens have paid them ing ts'in ts'ien, i.e., "cash for cooperation in the marriage," ordinarily 12 strings of cash. This sum paid, no time is lost; they hurry to put the widow in the saddle, the band surrounds her and leaves post-haste, taking care to go a roundabout way in order to escape all risk and conduct her safe and sound to the home of her new husband.

On arrival she dismounts; a fire is lighted in great haste in front of the house, and the widow is presented with the paper which one burns for the dead. She kneels and burns it in memory of her dead husband; then she offers up a libation of gin for him. She stands and looks into space for several moments. /92/ This is the wang
[782 heou k'an /"taking the last look"/, the farewell look toward her
372] dead husband. She passes over the fire so that all the bad influences which could have attached themselves to her, or the bad spirits which could have followed her, will vanish. Having crossed the fire, she enters the house only after taking off her little felt hat and undoing her hair, which she rolls up carelessly and puts back under her hat. She will wear her hair in the style of the women of the clan or village to which she is henceforth deemed to belong.

The armed band is invited to a light meal composed of bread, meat, tea, and gin. The widow takes tea with the women of the family.

4. Settling of Accounts

537 The widow is not secure so long as the accounts are not settled
583 and the contract is not signed; so they hurry first thing in the morning
177 to finish the business. The go-betweens first pay secret sums to the grumblers, then accounts are settled with the parents-in-law and the widow. For this purpose they are asked to go, not to the home of the new husband, but to a friend's home or to a remote place. The price of a girl is paid in full, while that of a widow is subject to bold acts of stinginess. Only judge: 600 cash are worth 1,000; at present animals must be accepted in place of paying in silver, and they are evaluated at double their value. They give cloth which they claim

/92 cont'd/

587 is too expensive, then they tear a piece of cloth in two to make it
177 count for two pieces. It is the famous koa-fou ts'ien, i.e., "the
583 price of widows." It is a practice which the T'ou-jen learned from the Chinese, who are past masters in such matters.

587 But although custom admits these practices, it is not rare that
178 the settling of accounts degenerates into brawls. The contract is written and signed this same day, and the signers are /93/ reimbursed. The mother-in-law is offered the pieces of tea which were promised to her so that she would consent to the marriage, and the father receives his tchou hoen ts'ien.

5. Marriage of Widows

587 A marriage ceremony takes place the same day if possible or the next day. They invite to the home of the new son-in-law the father and mother, uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters of the newly taken away widow. It is a little group of eight, ten, or 15 persons, among whom the go-betweens are counted.

Tea, bread, gin are served as usual; then the parents give their daughter a new long gown, and to the son-in-law a felt hat and a belt. Often they add a pair of shoes for the new mother-in-law, and a k'ata for the father-in-law.

A table is set up in front of a religious image. Two lighted lamps are placed on it; a rug is spread out in front of the table. The widow clothed in the new gown which she has just received from her parents and the son-in-law also wearing the new hat and belt make the great prostration in the Chinese manner, first to heaven and the multifarious spirits, then to their parents and the elders of the family, third to the family related through marriage and to the clan. The sacred shamanistic fire is absent.

The father-in-law then presents four strings of cash to his new son-in-law as a token of their alliance; the whole family together politely refuses them. Three strings of cash are given to those who wrote the contract and to the go-betweens; then a light meal is served. At the departure of the guests, they are not given meat to take away; the hosts are satisfied to offer several loaves of bread.

/93 cont'd/

587 [604] The customary proceedings of the marriage of a widow then are very simple; the maternal uncle who plays the most important role at the marriage of girls does not even appear. The great preoccupation of the T'ou-jen in the marriage of a widow is to take her away from a rival /94/ and to conduct her without let or hindrance to her new domicile.

6. Two Typical Abductions of Widows

587 583 The following incidents throw a true light on the T'ou-jen way of thinking concerning the marriage of widows.

At the place Souo-pou-keou lived a widow of a certain Hla Rong. A Tchang of Ki-kia-lin, wishing to marry her, learned that he was too late; the widow had already given her consent to another and had exchanged tokens with him. Tchang wanted her at any price. He proposed therefore to abduct her by force, then to get in touch with the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow to give them the earnest. If such affairs are taken to court, reimbursement of the earnest is required from the abductors, then the woman is [671] granted to them. These abductions are thus recognized by the law. Tchang calls upon the help of about 30 trustworthy men, well armed, to take away the widow from the hands of his rival's band the night when the rival would take her to his home. The abductors were at their post, but the other band did not arrive. Believing therefore that they had been fooled, they decided to go to the widow's house, take it by assault, and abduct the widow.

Tchang counted as head of his band the widow's nephew, who could inform them about the arrangement of the house. They burst into the courtyard, they force the doors, they gag the woman, four of them carry her outside, they put her on the horse, and they flee [492] hurriedly. Meanwhile the nephew had been taking care of the dogs and had opened the great door.

The journey went on in the greatest silence. After 15 kilometers of forced march they arrived home, removed the gag from the woman, and untied her hands. What was their surprise when in

/94 cont'd/

587 the darkness they heard the woman affirm that they had been mistaken;
583 that she was a neighbor who had come to keep the widow company; that she was married and /95/ that her husband was very much alive, and that the person they were looking for had hidden behind a wardrobe at the moment of danger. Consternation!

What to do? Sending back the woman was a loss of face, and then she did not want to go back.

[627 684] The incident was known everywhere in the region from the next day on; the widow's parents and the husband of the abducted woman were already getting ready to bring suit against the woman's abductors. The elders of the village knew that it was a mistake and proposed to arrange the affair amicably.

There was a palaver and a dinner, which my catchist attended. The conclusion of the discussion was that the young wife was to be taken back on horseback with a band at the head of the procession and a salvo of firecrackers. A sheep with a scarf of red cloth on its horns was to be offered, and apologies were to be made. They laughed heartily in the region at the unfortunate nephew who had presided at the abduction of his aunt.... The young widow meanwhile was married to the man of her choice.

Another very interesting incident for understanding the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of abduction and the conditions which permit it is the following:

A young widow of Pien-tan, after negotiations in due form, was taken at night to the home of a Tchao of Na-ling keou. Tchao, who was known for his avarice and had a very bad reputation, tried to pick a quarrel with the go-betweens on the subject of the widow's price, although the sum had already been agreed on. He wanted to be shrewd. Since the widow was at his house, he hoped to drag out the settlement of accounts and to get out of it by giving only part of it the agreed-upon price. After three weeks the matter was still dragging on, nothing had yet been paid, and consequently the contract had not yet been signed. New palaver in the courtyard of the pagoda two li distant from his house. Now in the absence of Tchao, a certain Tchang of Tong-keou, accompanied /96/ by several men

/96 cont'd/

587 he could rely on, came to abduct the newly married widow in broad
583 daylight. It is probable that she consented to being abducted; for living with her new husband for a month, she had been able to judge him. It is equally probable that the go-betweens and the former parents-in-law of the widow were in on it; perhaps the neighbors who did not sympathize with Tchao were not strangers to it either, for they did not budge when the people came to abduct the widow.

[672] Tchao goes to the Chinese city to bring suit. The Chinese judgment was the following: The widow must be sent back to her parents' home and neither Tchao nor Tchang may marry her.

According to T'ou-jen custom, the woman would have had to stay with Tchang, and Tchao by reason of not having paid the agreed-upon sum in time lost entirely all right over the widow.

7. Vestiges of Marriage by Abduction among the T'ou-jen

587 One can conclude from the preceding that nowadays the pur-
671 chase of the wife by the husband is the legal form of marriage, while
582 also recognizing as legal the abduction of a widow, on condition that the owners be indemnified.

583 One can believe that formerly the custom of abduction must have been general and that it was practiced for marriages of girls. Indeed, numerous vestiges of abduction are found in the customs surrounding the marriage of girls. When the son-in-law with his companions comes to get the bride, why does he find the door of the house shut? Why is it necessary to end up by breaking it in and receiving an avalanche of water on the head? This certainly is an assault on the girl's dwelling. When they sing at the door and ask that it be opened, one feels that this way is not natural and that in addition there is no sense to it. Besides, the song has nothing in it that is prescribed, when everything else in the customs is clearly fixed, even the speeches that are made. Why this thick veil /97/ which envelops the bride's head and which does not allow her to see; it is even tied around the neck with a red cord. Is it not to bandage the eyes of a person who is being abducted? At the moment of carrying the bride outside, why this abruptness, the door of the room which

/97 cont'd/

Mo 583 is opened with a din, this headlong haste while she is carried away, and why the cries and sobs of the girl?

Again there is the father who gets on the horse to make the circuit of the open area three times, gesticulating with the iang hstia and calling his daughter constantly by name, and the latter on horseback in the middle of the area answers sobbing, "I am here, yes, here"... is this not sham pursuit? Must one not explain in the same sense of abduction the custom according to which the women of the house, those of the neighborhood, and the girls continue to pursue the bride, taking the horse by the bridel? And must one not take in this sense the expression which names this custom "pursuit of the lady?"

All this nuptial procession formed by the people of the maternal clan, does it not represent the people of the family who pursue the abducted daughter?

Think again of this man on horseback behind the bride and who holds her in his arms. Is this the gesture of abduction? Why must the bride lament during the whole trip, and why according to custom can she not speak to anyone?

It is the son-in-law himself who takes his bride off her horse, his own capture. Upon arrival he shuts the girl up in a room with her companion and does not give her anything to eat or drink. And again, why this prolonged silence until after the marriage? Is it the girl sulking?

Remember the wedding festivity, which ends brutally by the taking away of animals and the scuffle which often follows; would that not mean that the parents are avenging themselves for the abduction of the girl?....And to say that still in our day, the festivity /98/ often degenerates into quarrels and fights?

All these details taken together prove the existence of the abduction (1) of girls in the past. Among these details there are

Ma 583 848

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit. p. 76: The "kalin" (earnest for the bride) is not paid or is paid after a long delay,

/98 cont'd/

Mo 583 848

if the girl before the wedding becomes pregnant. In such a case she can be taken by capture and neither feast nor wedding are celebrated. The capture is usually effected by the bridegroom himself helped by 5 - 6 young men of his clan. The act of capture is always followed by insults and violations towards the bride. If she cries and prays to defend her, her relatives do not venture to intervene.

This is a sole case when the Manchus use "marriage by capture." Any other customs connected directly or indirectly, or survivals of them cannot be mentioned among the Manchus. /Cited in English, with interpolation in French in parentheses./

Mo 583

I think, however, I have to explain by abduction the rite according to which they cover, only for an instant, the bride's head with a piece of red silk taken away as quickly as possible by the bridegroom. Likewise I see a vestige of abduction in the fact that the bridegroom and his band find the door of the bride's house shut when they go to get her. Without invoking abduction it is impossible to explain the custom which requires that they carry the bride away with haste and throw her into the wagon, that in addition they only half harness the animals to leave as quickly as possible, and stop outside to arrange the harnesses, etc.

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Schotter, "Notes sur les tribus du Koei-Tcheou," Anthropos, 6th year,

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p. 320: There are (among the Hé-miao) abductions with tacit consent. It is then to avoid all expense. P. 342: One likewise finds vestiges of abduction among the Song-kia-tse.

Dr. Herbert König, op. cit. /"Das Recht der Polarvoelker (The Law of the Polar Peoples)," Anthropos, 1928-29/, pp. 119-120, 121. Marriage by Capture and Elopement. As in the Old Australian Culture according to Graebner, marriage by capture should, according to him (Schmidt, Koppers), be a normal legal institution among the pastoral peoples and also the polar peoples among them, whom he includes in the northern group. Now it is true that the procurement of women by force for marriage is found among almost all polar peoples, and it is not at all uncommon. Once upon a time, however, (marriage by capture) supposedly was a legal custom, at least in former times. /Cited in English./

583 some which taken separately admit of another explanation. But is it not rational to explain them in this sense when, on the one hand, abduction is still practiced today for widows, and when, on the [587] other hand, some /details/ are found among them which are certainly not explainable without admitting abduction? Thus one can be tempted to explain the following of the bride by the girls of the village as being one step in conducting their friend. But then why do they take the horse's bridle and try to prevent his departure, and why is this ceremony called "pursuit of the lady?" One can find fault again with the fact that the bride's own brothers /99/ carry her out of the room, and with this other that a member of the family

/99 cont'd/

583 rides pillion and holds her in his arms. But it is necessary to take account of the circumstances in which the girl is carried away; it is done running, while closing the door with a crash, while the girl sobs, etc. Surely it is not the brother's place to carry his sister outside in a case of abduction, nor that of a member of the family to ride pillion, to hold the girl in his arms. We are here in the presence of an old custom belonging to an outdated organization and whose sense and memory the T'ou-jen have lost. Ever since, it is not surprising to note meaningless actions and anomalies. Besides, it is the general law which rules customs no longer understood. The more one goes ahead in time, the less one understands them, and the more one distorts them.

/100/ C. Polygamy

595 Summary. -- 1. Polygamy exists but is not general. 2. The four categories of polygamists. 3. Procedure for the purchase of a concubine. 4. Position of the second wife with respect to the official wife.

1. Polygamy Exists. It Is Not General

One can expect to meet polygamy among the T'ou-jen when one understands their thinking as to the necessity of having male descendants. When one considers their ideas on the subject of the position of a widow who has children in the T'ou-jen family system, as well as their way of thinking on the subject of the position of a woman, on whom rests all the work in the country. However, when one thinks of the generally poor circumstances of the people, it is easy to admit that polygamy cannot be general. The economic condition is here one of the largest factors in the question of polygamy.

The T'ou-jen, living nowadays in an agrarian state, inhabit a country which is not precisely a "promised land" for the tiller of the soil. The climate is generally cold, the country is mountainous,

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587 come the incoherences we have been able to establish in the present-day rites of the marriage of widows. Neither should the existence of the practice of abduction of widows be supposed for this period. It is therefore natural to conclude that, for all this period, the marriage of girls is to be considered as the only and true marriage, and that the practice of abduction existed only for them. This fact has its importance again in the question of polygamy among the T'ou-jen, because it explains a special category of polygamy still practiced nowadays. The T'ou-jen, no longer having any recollection of this institution which existed among his ancestors, today seeks an arbitrary explanation for this problem.

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101 /111/ Northern and central Asia has been the theater of numerous migrations, peaceful and otherwise, in historic and prehistoric times, of peoples having extremely varied social organizations. From this come the analogies and the ethnological borrowings ascertained among the peoples on both sides of the Bering Strait, and among the "middle and western Eurasians."

114 I summarize in this place the monumenta ethnographica which shed a new light on the chapter on "marriage by purchase" among the T'ou-jen, whose ancestors, Mongols and Cha-t'ou, were nomads.

For this purpose I use the judicious inclusive study of Dr. Herbert König, "Das Recht der Polarvölker, IV. Das Eherecht der Polarvölker," Anthropos (1928-29).

583 171 Anthropos, 1929, p. 101, Bride Price /Brautkauf/ among the Central and Western Eurasians ... Bride-price marriage coincides in distribution almost exactly with the peoples in the polar region who have an aristocratic social organization. It is specifically reported and described in detail for the Tungus, Jakut, Samojed, Ostjak, and Lapps, and, to be sure, as a unique way of concluding marriage. Page 104. The picture

/111 cont'd/

500 that the Eskimo present in the east of the polar region is not as uniform. /Cited in German./

Anthropos, 1929, p. 129. The central North Asiatics stand in contrast with all the peoples (polar peoples) named. Exogamy prevails among the Samojed, Ostjak, Jakut, Tungus, and Dolgan. This extends not only to the kin groups but to the whole tribe. /Cited in German./

Page 130. A kind of exogamy such as is present among these peoples requires that membership in a given community (marriage class in this case) be reckoned either on the father's side or on the mother's side, and, of course, for the simple reason .... /Cited in German./

Page 117. The betrothal of children, that is, the designation of two people for marriage before puberty, or even before the birth of one or both of them /cited in German/ ... (is found among all the peoples of the polar region).

584 Page 102. Customarily, an intermediary appears, usually the father or some other close male relative of the bridegroom, who negotiates with the father of the bride and often receives compensation for his trouble, perhaps in the form of property. /Cited in German./

Page 102. The price for the bride is determined according to the wealth of the participants and is paid in property, for example, in valuable pelts. /Cited in German./

Page 102. The bride price is paid either immediately or in installments. In the latter case the bridegroom can take his bride only when the last installment has been paid, although often he has already slept with her. /Cited in German./

Page 103. I have already said that among the peoples being discussed here a bride price /Mitgift/ is always expected. In the specific reports concerning this, almost all the authors agree. /Cited in German./

Herbert Koenig, "Das Ehe[illegible] der Polarvoelker," Anthropos, 1929, pp. 136-137. Polygamy and Similar Situations... In the whole polar region polygamy lawfully

/111 cont'd/

595 prevails. One can marry as many women as he wants and can support.... The reasons for the polar men taking a second wife are the wish to acquire additional help in the household and the wish for children, the latter in the case of sterility of the first, whom it is economically impossible simply to divorce. Moreover, the first wife always continues to be the most respected; among the Jukagir there are various designations. For example, the second is known as "little wife," but the third is characterized as a concubine. /Cited in German./

As for monogamy, Herb. Koenig says: ... Monogamy, actually the most common because of the economic situation ... /cited in German/.

/112/ Chapter II

Marriages by the Furnishing of One's Services or Person

593 All the marriages described above are concluded by purchase, either of a girl or of a widow. The new category of unions in which the wife is no longer bought offers to poor needy people the only means of being able to marry. People of average means will prefer to purchase a girl for their son rather than to lay themselves open to a whole series of disagreeable consequences finally inherent in this kind of union involving furnishing of services or one's person.

So the disadvantages must be really serious for even the T'ouen to advise against them, these people whom we have seen to be such great lovers of small profits.

These alliances are therefore "nowadays" solely practiced by young people who have no other means of marrying and who are resigned to these sacrifices in the hope of descendants and in order to fulfill the obligation to marry.

The division of the chapter will therefore be: Furnishing of services to marry;

583 /112 cont'd/

A. A widow

B. A girl, or the question of husband-sons-in-law

A. Marriage of a Widow

587 One marries a widow without having to pay for her when she is indigent and finds herself after the death of her husband with three or four children; when furthermore she is alone in the world by reason of the fact that she has no brothers-in-law, or if she has, they are too poor to provide for her needs. This is then the case of widows without means of subsistence.

583 /113/ There are naturally few with a taste for this kind of
587 marriage, for those who venture into such will have to raise another person's children, who, sooner or later, if they do not return bad for good, will at least be very little grateful for the care which has been given them. This kind of marriage is literally that called by the Chinese tchao fou lang tse, i.e., "looking for a husband who will feed the children." Although these unions are not advantageous for the husband, nevertheless there are always poor men of some age who, attracted by the hope of offspring, decide to expose themselves to the dangers of such a union, or who rather allow themselves to be tempted by the widow. Indeed, the terms of this marriage say clearly that it is the widow who is seeking the husband. That says enough,
587 that these unions are not highly prized. In such a marriage, the two
587 parties agree on it first between themselves. Their decision made, they themselves invite a go-between, who will go to see the paternal uncles and the grandparents of the children. The T'ou-jen family has an agnatic bond, and the family system is that of the large family
589 with community of property. On the death of the husband, the
621 widow remains therefore within the domain of the community; consequently, it will be necessary to recognize her owners. But since this property is rather a burden for them, it will be easy to come to an agreement. Furthermore, the widow's family knows that if it is not accommodating, the widow will be able to give them a lot of trouble.

Ma 428 589 425 /115 cont'd/ [Manchu]

property, as a rule, becomes her husband's property and through the husband this property is transmitted to a foreign clan.

Ma 597 589 If the widow has succeeded and some time later is going to be remarried, her property must be transferred to the person who can be her heir. However if the widow and her daughters keep the property during several years (5-6), the widow can remarry and reserve her rights to her property. Besides there is a peculiar form of inheritance by adoption. If the deceased has no son and his brother succeeds him and assumes the care of the widow, he gives to her his son for adoption.

Ma 428 The property never can be inherited in the female line by the relatives of motherline filiation. /Cited in English./

Ma 582 585 There are cases in which a boy can marry a girl without having to pay for her. This kind of marriage today is contracted solely by poor young people. It is the case of saying: Umeo Danaca i dorgi feremra /"I fear Dan[illegible] and the bearing of gifts"/. In the Orient girls are not given as presents; altruism has not evolved to this point. Because a young man loves a girl seriously, that is not a reason for giving her to him free.

/116/

000 B. Marriage of a Girl, or the Question of Husband-sons-in-law

Summary. -- 1. Exchange of a girl for the furnishing of services until the death of the parents-in-law. 2. Exchange of a girl for the furnishing of services for a fixed number of years. 3. Purchase of a girl and search for a son-in-law who will serve their parents-

/116 cont'd/
000 in-law until death. 4. Furnishing of one's person by adoption in order to obtain a wife.

1. Exchange of a Girl for the Furnishing of Service until the Death of the Parents

Mo 583 608 606 Let us suppose parents, poor or rich, advanced in age, and having a single daughter. If the family is well-to-do, in time it will have procured a second wife; nevertheless the case occurs in which it has not done so. The parents prize their daughter and are persuaded that she cannot do without them and will never leave them. Convinced wrongly or rightly of the attachment their daughter feels Mo [591] for them, they look for a way to avoid being separated from her by giving her a husband who will come to live with them and work their lands. The daughter will bear children who will be the joy of their old age, and the son-in-law will be a pious son to them who will serve them until the time when they go to join their ancestors. That is at least the explanation given for this custom by present-day T'ou-jen.

The girl's parents, without practicing adoption as such, accept the son-in-law in their home as a member of the family and give him their daughter without requiring pecuniary compensation. The son-in-law gets a go-between and two guarantors; a contract is written in which it is stipulated that he will stay with his parents-in-law and /117/ serve them until their death.

Mo 606 591 Among the T'ou-jen what is the legal position of such a son-in-law with respect to his own family and that of his wife?

The case in question is a pure and simple practice belonging to the matriarchate system. It is, indeed, the case of husband-son-in-law who go to live with the parents-in-law for life and who receive the daughter in marriage in exchange for their services. (1) They

Mo 425 606 608

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 142-143: The transmission of a property through the woman from a clan to another one takes place in the case where the male person

/117 cont'd/

Ma 606 608 591

marriage, he becomes the head of the family.... /Cited in German./

Ma Mo 583

Dr. Herbert König, op. cit., p. 114. Bride Service of the Wife. Concerning the institution of bride service of the wife, examples are known to me from three places in the polar region, one of which, however, I must immediately reject as very doubtful.... The origin of this custom has not yet been determined. /Cited in German./ I cannot keep myself from thinking that we find ourselves here before badly controlled facts, and that instead of explaining them by Brautdienste der Frau, /"bride service of the wife"/, one must look for their reason for existing, either in the generosity of the bridegroom's family toward that of the poor bride or in the lack of workers in the bridegroom's family or in the case of the death of the parents, etc., as the facts prove among the T'ou-jen and the Manchu. Besides we are here before the very frequent case of the T'ong-yang si-fou-tse which is met everywhere in China, i.e., a poor girl, usually not yet marriageable, is accepted into the family as the future bride of a son. She will be married when the two reach marriageable age. It is not a question of Brautdienste der Frau nor a question of Erprobung des Mädchens /"testing the girls"/.

/120 cont'd/

361 place of origin. Now among the T'ou-jen of this area, a good many
331 have come to practice again the former custom of husband-sons-in-law practiced by the Tibetans, their neighbors. As soon as they ar-
608 rive in the region they no longer give their daughters in marriage out-
184 side the house, but they seek a /121/ husband-son-in-law for them;
583 on the other hand, they send their sons to become husband-sons-in-law in other families. Among many of these T'ou-jen, the sons no longer enjoy even the right of inheritance in their own family, where the daughters have become the sole heirs; in other families they continue to inherit beside their sisters. They are thus passing through a period of transition. One T'ou-jen family after the other adopts the customs of the Tibetans, at first some of the customs and only in part, and gradually they become Tibetanized. Besides, it is a fact that the Tibetan environment is not distasteful to them, and that T'ou-jen girls given in marriage to Tibetans quickly feel at home.

562 The T'ou-jen of the Sining region, speaking of their brothers
184 of Koei-tê, say, laughing, that among the latter the wife is owner
177 and mistress of the home; niu-jen tang ts'ai, that the men do not count there, that there are women there who themselves send away their husbands, that women are found there who have more than one husband, and that the old men there are to be pitied. Thus Tibetan customs.

178 How must one explain the deformation of the practice of
608 husband-sons-in-law among the T'ou-jen?
[177]

First, it is necessary to know that the Mohammedan revolutions decimated the T'ou-jen population in Kansu. Some T'ou-ssê, in order to remake their groups and get rents for their lands, adopted in their clans numerous heterogeneous Chinese and Tibetan elements; other T'ou-jen headmen never succeeded in rebuilding the ruins. Add to that the use of opium which especially undermined the families of the headmen and put them in debt and impoverished them; it is thus not surprising that the power and also the influence of the t'ou-
[622] se were decidedly impaired. The prime blow of all was more and more frequent recourse to Chinese magistrates on the part of the T'ou-jen. In the old days, say the elders, the t'ou-se alone was

/121 cont'd/
608 178 our judge in case of litigation; nobody would have dared to address himself to the Chinese mandarins for fear of reprisals on the part of the t'ou-se. I believe we /122/ must look in this direction for the solution to our problem. As a matter of fact, the Chinese court [428] recognizes only the sons' right of inheritance and, lacking them, that of members of the paternal side. In case of litigation, the paternal side is always sure to win its case against an only daughter, and the brother husband-son-in-law, as long as adoption has not been practiced, can always hope to see his rights recognized in his original family. Several verdicts of this kind suffice to deform a custom and create a completely new attitude. In addition, a tested virtue is necessary to be able to resist such temptations!

2. Exchange of a Girl for Furnishing of Services for a Fixed Number of Years

583 565 466 Everyday experience having proved that the preceding solution is not practical, say the T'ou-jen, there are people who look for another, more psychological in actual fact. Indeed, the sight of the end of one's own troubles in a future relatively near at hand gives the courage to remain faithful to duty. A family of poor or even average means can promise to give their daughter to a poor young man provided that he binds himself to work five, eight, ten, or 12 years for them.

675 466 606 583 The contracts for these marriages are generally made by the parents themselves, with one or two individuals who act as guarantors for the son-in-law. While in the preceding case the girl can be nubile at the time when a husband is being found for her, in the present case the arrangement always takes place when the girl is only seven, eight, or ten years old at the most. As for the age of the son-in-law, there is nothing definite: he can be ten or 12 years old as well as 30 and even more. When the girl is 15, they will have a little festival, and she will wear her hair in the fashion of married women; then she is married.

Why this engagement when the girl is still a child? /123/ It it because they know one another in the country and do not want to

2: Schram--139 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
Manchu A64

/123 cont'd/

Mo 675 606 466 583 be duped all down the line. As a matter of fact, as soon as the girl is 15 and is married, she, like her husband, will want to be more free. She will let him persuade her that one can work everywhere and that there is nothing more to be gained in the home of the parents-in-law. One day there is an argument in the family, and the couple disappears. Now at this moment the family of the parents-in-law will already have profited by at least several years of work by the son-in-law. It rarely happens that the son-in-law is faithful to his pledges to the end. It is then a frail alliance.

Mo 608 606 583 171 Ma 606 608 583 The present case is the usual case of husband-sons-in-law. It enjoys a very wide diffusion all over Asia, among the Turkish, Mongol, and Manchu peoples and among the peoples of northern Asia (1).

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 75: There is also a very interesting custom of getting a wife by personal work in the house of the future father-in-law. A poor man who cannot pay "kalim" through the intermediary of some person asks the bride's father to give him his daughter against his personal work in the house of his future father-in-law. The minimum period of this is three years and the maximum ten years. The future son-in-law lives in the house of his future father-in-law, but he always has his separated spirits and goes to his clan's meetings and sacrifices. After the fixed period is expired, they make a very modest wedding and the young husband brings his wife to his own house or lives in the house of his wife's father as a workman at a fixed salary. Sometimes the father-in-law gives the

/123 cont'd/

Mo 606 608 583

young couple some means to start an independent household. This custom is very broadly practised by the Manchus who consider it as one of the most ancient and purely national institutions. /Cited in English./

Mo [584]

Dr. Herbert Koenig, op. cit., pp. 109-110: The essence of this way of concluding a marriage lies in the fact that the bridegroom thereby begins his wooing, that he performs the most menial work for his future father-in-law, who treats him almost like a slave.... In this case, too, an intermediary sometimes is involved, usually the father, some other close relative, or even a friend, who asks the father of the bride whether the suitor can begin his service for the girl. Page 656: Thus, bride service in all likelihood is limited to the Asiatic side of the Bering Strait and the Aleutians and is lacking among the Eskimo. /Cited in German./

Mo 608 606 583 121

and everywhere they seem to hold this practice in respect. /124/ Among the T'ou-jen, according to what one can see, it creates a good many disagreeable situations; thus it is not surprising to hear the elders declare that this custom is practiced much less nowadays than in the good old days. This custom is still found rather often among the Chinese of Kansu.

3. Purchase of a Girl and Search for a Son-in-law Who Will Serve Their Parents-in-law until Death

Mo 608 583

Another still more risky combination is one often found in reasonably well-to-do families which have no child. They buy a girl,

/124 cont'd/

608 583 they get a husband for her, and they hope that the couple will stay with their benefactors to serve them until their death. This is then the foremost case which occurs with the least chance of success, since the feelings of this stranger will not be comparable to those of a daughter of their own. If there is no hope for them of great material advantages, the couple ends up by going away.

4. Furnishing of One's Person by Adoption in Order to Obtain a Wife

597 583 606 In this category we see the principle of the patriarchate triumphing. This fourth combination is one found in rather rich families who have only one daughter and who adopt a son-in-law in order to give him as a husband to their daughter. The purpose of this arrangement, according to the T'ou-jen, is not to be separated from their daughter and to make her and the son-in-law their lawful heirs.

Now so that this may be possible in a patriarchal system, the son-in-law must exchange his family name for that of his parents-in-law. He must separate himself radically from his own parents and clan in order to recognize his parents-in-law and all /125/ their clan as his own. He must give himself completely to their family, he must make offerings to their ancestors; and in this way he will be able to continue the family line, and at his death be buried in their cemetery. This is, then, the furnishing of services for life at the same time as that of oneself in all its breadth.

From this it is understandable that such an arrangement must raise difficulties on the part of the family; so a whole series of formalities is required in order to bring it about. The father of the family begins by inviting his brothers and announcing his irrevocable decision. So that they will sign the contract of adoption and admit the new son-in-law into the family circle, he will propose bequeathing to them several plots of land after his death; the rest of the holdings will have to fall to the son-in-law and his wife. All that does not proceed without long discussions. Finally, the contract of adoption is signed on the occasion of a family dinner, where the son-in-law makes the great prostration to his new parents; he bows to the religious image honored in the house and burns cypress branches; his

Mo 597 606 583 /125 cont'd/ name is inscribed in the family register in the presence of the whole family; he goes to the clan cemetery to make offerings to the ancestors of his new parents, and goes to the village pagoda to venerate the loca deities, protectors of his adoptive family. (1) This arrange-

Ma [597 858]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 61: The adoption of men (among the Manchu) is practised only for children. When the child becomes 6-7 years old the couple who adopt it organize a sacrifice to their clan spirits. They declare to the spirits and to the child adopted, that such and such person is adopted in the clan, and that this person leaves his former clan and spirits and enters into this clan. /Cited in English; French interpolation in parentheses/.

ment presents all the necessary guarantees for a serious and lasting union... but at the price of what sacrifices on the part of the son-in-law.

/126/

Chapter III

Abnormal Marriage

Mo 588 We have seen all the troubles brought on by marriages of girls exchanged for the furnishing either of the person of the son-in-law or his services for a fixed period or for life. Nevertheless, this whole series of marriages is more or less understandable to the European mind; the two series of alliances which follow no longer are. They are the marriages:

/147 cont'd/

586 Indeed, the parents claim that their daughter, as a consequence
681 of bad treatment on the part of the parents-in-law, was forced to leave home, ran away, and must have perished nobody knows where. The parents-in-law are therefore responsible for her death..., and the discussion begins. On both sides they are convinced that the daughter is just as guilty as the parents-in-law, if not more; they also know very well that the daughter is alive. Everyone understands that the parents want to profit by the occasion in order to raise money on the backs of their family by marriage. After long discussions, which can last two days and more, they end up by having to give to the parents of the runaway a sum of two to three hundred strings of cash as indemnity for the daughter-in-law, who is deemed to be lost. A contract is written by which it is recognized that the affair is shelved forever and that in the future the parents-in-law will no longer be able to try to pick a quarrel with the son-in-law nor extort money a second time...; furthermore, should the daughter return, they bind themselves to pay back the indemnity. As for this last clause, it is gone with the wind; the adage says besides: "Once the flesh has entered the wolf's mouth, it is not easy to pull it out again."

586 Nevertheless, if the daughter comes back after several years
583 with her lover, or if she has been taken and brought back forcibly,
681 they act as above with the runaways of this category; however they require more serious guarantees and a larger indemnity on the part of the lover's family. It happens very often that on /148/ this occasion they sell the woman to her lover if he has the wherewithal to pay for her. They likewise sell him the children born during the long absence. If the wife is not sold, she goes back to her home and is again admitted into the family circle with the children born to her while away, for, says the adage: "What grows on my land is mine and what my wife gives birth to is mine."

586 However one can believe that the parents are scarcely delighted
593 with such presents, especially when children are not lacking in their home. Indeed, the adage says: "The cow to be robust must run on the mountain, but it must come home to the stable." If the comparison is not elegant, it makes one think of the nomadic life. The

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Each claimed to be the proprietor of a small mountain. The Living Buddha lost his suit and the limping Tjaar tseen became the most celebrated man in the country. The Buddha invited three black shamans to bewitch the limping Tjaar tseen, and accused him again. He lost the second lawsuit also. Raging, the Buddha invited three black shamans to cast more efficacious spells. The chief of the village did not care any more, and the villagers graze their herds on the mountain to the present day. This fact is interesting for us because a Living Buddha, on two occasions, invited black shamans.

Hu, a rich Monguor, compelled a poor Monguor to sell to him his beautiful and willing young wife. The poor Monguor, using his last resource, invited a black shaman to bewitch his wife. The black shaman prepared skulls of a dog and of a fox, and a horn of a black goat. Inside each he enclosed three slips of paper on which he had designed cabalistic signs with dog blood around the name of the wife. The three items were buried at night under the entrance door of the courtyard of Hu, with the mouth of the skulls facing his living room. The young wife became sick. Shamans were invited to discover the cause of the illness and to neutralize the evil influences, but to no avail. The wife died and the shaman, it was said, was powerless against a punishment of Heaven and the spirits. But there was no peace in the courtyard; at night, noises disturbed the rest. Black shamans were invited for three days and they found the skulls. The poor man was accused before the T'u-ssu, but the T'u-ssu did not pay any attention because the behavior of the rich Monguor was supposed to have been unjust. It is the usual trick of the black shamans to bury magical things under the lintels of doors or in cemeteries.

In countries where there are no newspapers, such tales are spread like prairie fires, by peddlers, and commented on and believed, especially when outstanding persons are involved. They create the trend of mind of the people and make them fear so much the black shamans living south of the Hsining River, who are said to use beads made from human bones, to blow a trumpet made from the bone of a young woman who committed suicide, to wear a girdle made from the skin of such a woman, to braid into the enormous pigtail, coiled around the head, the hair of such a woman, and to use drums made from skulls of young girls. The most terrifying tales are told about them and they are believed by the people.

RITES CONCERNING THE GUARDIAN SPIRITS OF THE WEALTH OF THE FAMILY

According to the Monguors, persons who commit injustices are pursued by the guardian spirit of the wealth of the victim of the injustice, who causes them

N
*563 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren.
M
592 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually
554 consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

N
*563 Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional
M part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the
581 veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mon-
562 gours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the an-
[769] cestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered
[171] a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their live-
stock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N
*563 Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently
M the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to con-
584 siderable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen
583 usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage
582 age for boys is between 14-16.

Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is ab-
N solute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is
*563 sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly ob-
M served among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage
614 with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the
582 weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is re-
565 garded as not being purely preserved. There is a feeling that it
has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy
rules need not be observed as strictly.

N
*563 Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but
M does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a
582 sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different
clan.

M
[587] A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family,
usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband.
However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance
and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she
wants.

N
*563 Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from
the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage
M to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan,
588 but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patri-
lineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as
members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the
belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has
relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be
"married" if she becomes pregnant.

N
*563 The relationship between two families connected by marriage
is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being
M
604 part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence